

REPORT OF THE INTER-AMERICAN PEACE COMMITTEE  
TO THE  
EIGHTH MEETING OF CONSULTATION OF MINISTERS  
OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Introduction

In conformity with the provisions of Article 22 of its Statutes, the Inter-American Peace Committee has the honor to present to the Eighth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs this report, with regard to the work it has carried on from the end of the Seventh Meeting of Consultation, held in San José, Costa Rica, in August 1960, to date.

This work has been carried on, principally, in connection with its action in three specific cases that have been presented to the Committee during the period mentioned, and for this reason it has considered it advisable to divide this report into three parts.

The first part refers to the activities carried out until now in connection with the request presented before the Committee by the Representative of Nicaragua on the Council of the Organization of American States, on February 16, 1961; the second part contains information with regard to the request presented by the Representative of Mexico on June 2, 1961; and the third part refers to the request presented by the Representative of Peru on November 27, 1961.

With respect to the report that, in accordance with paragraph 3 of Resolution IV of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, it will have to present to the Eleventh Inter-American Conference, the Committee states that because of circumstances of various sorts it has not been possible for it to continue the preparation of the preliminary report that, in conformity with the same paragraph, it should present to the American governments in advance. Among these circumstances the fact may be mentioned that, in the opinion of the Committee, those reports --the preliminary and definitive ones-- would only be really useful to the governments and to the Eleventh Inter-American Conference if they were based not only on study of the situation of international tension in the Caribbean region as it was when it was considered by the Fifth Meeting of Consultation, but also on study of the development of that situation up to the closest possible time to the opening of that conference. Now, since that date has not yet been set, the Committee will continue to carry out pertinent studies and will present its preliminary report at the appropriate time.

PART III

## REQUEST PRESENTED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF PERU

ON NOVEMBER 27, 1961

## I. BACKGROUND

At a meeting held by the Inter-American Peace Committee on November 27, 1961, the Representative of Peru on the Council of the Organization of American States presented to the Committee a note, dated November 24, in which he requested that the Inter-American Peace Committee, in accordance with Resolution IV of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, proceed to carry out the "study and investigation of the facts denounced by the Government of Peru during the meeting held by the Council of the Organization on October 16 last." (Appendix 1 to this part of the report).

Those facts, the denunciation for which the Representative of Peru repeated before the Committee, are, essentially, the following:

1. Acts of force, intrinsically illegal, on the part of the ruling regime in Cuba, to the detriment of citizens of that nation and foreigners, such as executions, imprisonments, deportations, physical mistreatments, and confiscations of property.
2. Action of international communism in the countries of America and incorporation of the Cuban Government in the Sino-Soviet bloc.
3. Communist infiltration by the Government of Cuba in the other countries of America, making use of its diplomatic officials, official missions, and secret agents, for the purpose of instigating subversion and revolution against legitimately constituted governments and democratic institutions.

The Committee decided, in the first place, that in view of the powers and attributes that were conferred upon it by Resolution IV of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in Santiago, Chile, it was competent

to carry out the study and investigation of the facts denounced by the Government of Peru.

The position taken by the Inter-American Peace Committee coincided with that of the Council of the Organization of American States, which, at its meeting on November 22, 1961, upon considering the Report of the General Committee on the request presented by the Government of Peru on October 16, 1961, pointed out that the Inter-American Peace Committee "is an appropriate organ, in accordance with the terms of Resolution IV of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, to deal with the facts denounced in the request presented by the Government of Peru."

As will be remembered, that resolution entrusted to the Inter-American Peace Committee, in general, the study of the matters that had been the reason for the convocation of the Meeting, one of which was consideration of the situation of international tension in the Caribbean area in its general and several aspects. This consideration was to be for the purpose of maintenance of the peace in America and was to be carried out "in the light of the principles and standards that govern the inter-American system and of the means for assuring observance by the States of the principles of nonintervencion and nonaggression."

Not all of the facts denounced by the Government of Peru were specifically among the matters that motivated the Meeting of Santiago. However, all of them have, for some time, constituted serious aspects of the international tension in the Caribbean region, which threatens the peace of the Hemisphere. The Inter-American Peace Committee had already considered the question of the intervention of extracontinental powers in inter-American affairs before the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, which was held at San Jose, Costa Rica, in August 1960, and for that reason the report it submitted to that Meeting made the following observations:

Finally, the nature of the international tensions in the Caribbean has been modified and the tensions themselves considerably heightened as a result of an increasing desire during recent months on the part of the Soviet Union and other extracontinental powers to intervene more actively in inter-American affairs. It is evident from statements made by the highest officials of these powers that they are seeking to exploit for their own purposes some of the aspects of the situation existing in the Caribbean. Recognition

of this problem has been in large measure responsible for the decision of the American governments to convoke the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. The threat of extracontinental intervention has thus given to the problem of Caribbean tensions a new and serious aspect, which is a matter of concern to all the countries of the Americas.

The Committee considers, then, that in order adequately to carry out the study of the international tension in the Caribbean region it is indispensable, as well as proper, to take that new aspect of tension into account. In fact, even if the Government of Peru had not asked the Committee to study and investigate the facts denounced by that government, the Committee would have had to consider that new aspect in the report that it must in due course submit to the Eleventh Inter-American Conference.

Now then, in carrying out the study and investigation of the facts denounced by the Government of Peru, the Committee has taken into account all their causes and consequences, that is to say, it has studied the origin of those facts, and it has likewise considered their effects on other regions of America. It is a question of interlinked facts that cannot be considered separately.

Once the Committee had decided that it was competent to deal with the matter, it invited the Representative of Cuba to come to state to it his point of view with regard to the request of the Government of Peru, at a meeting that was held for this purpose at 11:00 a.m. on November 29, 1961.

At the same time, the Inter-American Peace Committee, in view of the importance of the investigation that it was to undertake, as well as the serious responsibility that both the Committee and the inter-American system in general would thereby assume, considered it advisable to ask the governments of the member states of the Organization for the information that they could provide in regard to the facts denounced by the Government of Peru. For this purpose a note was sent to them, dated November 30, 1961 (Appendix 2), through their representatives on the Council of the Organization.

The Representative of Cuba did not attend the meeting held on the date cited and sent a note to the Committee in which, for the reasons given therein, he rejected the competence of the representatives of El Salvador, Venezuela, Colombia, and the

United States, "in their capacity as members of the Inter-American Peace Committee, to deal with the question raised by the Government of Peru" (Appendix 3). In a note addressed to the said representative on December 1, 1961, the Committee explained the reasons why it considered the challenge made by the Delegation of Cuba to be without foundation (Appendix 4).

The Committee sent a note dated December 7, 1961, to the Representative of Cuba, in which it requested that, in conformity with paragraph 2 of Resolution IV of the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, he inform it whether the Government of Cuba would agree that the Inter-American Peace Committee should visit the republic of Cuba in order to carry out the investigations that the Committee considered necessary in regard to the fact denounced by the Government of Peru (Appendix 5).

The Representative of Cuba replied to this request negatively, in a note that the Committee unanimously agreed to declare unacceptable, since it contained statements insulting to the Organization of American States, the Inter-American Peace Committee, and its member states.

Despite the fact that the Cuban Government refused to give its consent for a visit to the territory of Cuba, the Committee has endeavored to obtain as much information as possible with respect to the matter that was the subject of the request presented by the Representative of Peru and, in this regard, it can be pointed out that in respect to many aspects of the question that was raised the very documents made public by the Government of Cuba, such as official gazettes, newspapers, magazines, pamphlets, speeches, and statements by its principal leaders, as well as programs of its radio propaganda, have provided the Committee with important evidence for the investigation that it has carried out. It has likewise received plentiful documentation from numerous trustworthy sources and testimony from persons who recently left Cuba or who have visited that country at various times. In addition, the Committee has had valuable data provided by the various governments of the member states.

## II. STUDY OF THE FACTS DENOUNCED

### 1. Ties of the Government of Cuba with the Sino-Soviet bloc

The facts denounced before the Committee by the Government of Peru start with the "sudden transformation of the Cuban Government and its entrance into the Sino-Soviet bloc."

In studying these facts, the Committee has had in mind, above all, the principle of self-determination, or the right of every American state to "develop its cultural, political and economic life freely and naturally." At the same time, basing itself also on the Charter of the Organization of American States, as well as on the Declarations of Santiago, Chile, and San José, Costa Rica, the Committee has taken note of the obligation the American states have to respect the rights of the human individual, the principle that requires the effective exercise of representative democracy, and the incompatibility of every form of totalitarianism with the inter-American system. It has likewise considered the obligation that all the member states of the regional organization have to "submit to the discipline of the inter-American system, voluntarily and freely agree upon."

The "transformation" to which the Representative of Peru refers today constitutes a fact admitted in repeated and explicit public statements by the most outstanding leaders of the Cuban regime. By way of illustration, it is appropriate to cite the following examples.

On May 1, 1961, the Cuban Prime Minister, Fidel Castro, declared:

To those who speak to us about the Constitution of 1940, we say to them that the Constitution of 1940, is already out of date and too old for us, that we have advanced too far for that "too small suit" of the Constitution of 1940, which was good for its time, and which was never carried out, to be of use to us, and that that Constitution has already been surpassed by this Revolution, which we have said is a Socialist Revolution.

In his speech on December 1-2, the Prime Minister expressly admitted that during the revolutionary struggle that preceded his accession to power he had to hide his true political ideology, because he felt that:

...if we, when we began to have strength, had been known as people of very radical ideas, unquestionably all the social classes that are today making war on us would have been doing so from that time on...

In that same speech, Dr. Castro also admitted his full identification with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, as can be appreciated in the paragraph cited here following:

So it is that we are in the stage of building socialism, and socialism, what is the socialism that we are going to apply, the Utopian socialism? We simply had to apply scientific socialism. That is why I began by saying to you in all frankness that we believed in Marxism, that we believed that it was the most correct, the most scientific theory, the only true theory, the only true revolutionary theory, yes, I say it here with complete satisfaction and with complete confidence. I am a Marxist-Leninist and I shall be a Marxist-Leninist until the last day of my life.

Various persons who are leaders of Cuban politics today have echoed the foregoing declarations on various occasions. In the joint communiqué issued in Prague on September 11, 1961, by President Dorticos and the President of the Socialist Republic of Czechoslovakia, the following statement was made:

Evaluating the international situation, the two Presidents agreed that the existence and growth of the world socialist system constitutes the principal factor that determines the character of the present period of history.

President Dorticos himself, upon his arrival at Moscow, stated among other things:

We have taken the route of socialism and there will be no force capable of making us retreat.

On November 25 the same year the Minister of Industries of Cuba, Major Ernesto Guevara, defined before the National Workers' Congress the kind of socialism to which the Cuban leaders refer as

...the first stage and the goal of our efforts today, passing on, also, to that great aspiration for the future that is the communist society.

Mr. Blas Roca, a well-known leader in present-day Cuban politics, in a speech to the same Congress, said the following:

The friendship of our people with the socialist countries is a fruitful and real friendship, a friendship that has put down roots, a friendship that has reached the farthest corner of our land; it is a strong and unbreakable friendship, a friendship that will never be broken!

That friendship is born not only of our gratitude for the solidarity that has been extended to us, it is born also of the community of ideals, it is born also of the community of objectives, it is born also of the fact that we are as brothers in the task of defending peace and peaceful coexistence, in the task of defending the freedom and independence of the peoples, in the task of defending the workers from capitalist brutalities; in the task of building the socialist society today, and tomorrow the new society, the highest, the one that has already been outlined in the program of the XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union: the communist society!

In the newspaper Revolución for December 9, 1961, there appears a speech given the day before by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Cuba, Dr. Raúl Roa, in which he says:

The socialist camp, led by the invincible Soviet Union, is with the Cuban revolution. We are neither alone nor helpless. The world is with the Cuban Revolution, and the future belongs entirely to the Universal Socialist Society that is coming, and of which, for ever, Cuba already forms a part.

In addition to the fact of this full identification of the present Government of Cuba with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, that Government has been rebuilding the political organization of the Cuban state in conformity with the lines of that ideology. In accordance with this reorganization, a single political party has been established that, in its transitional phase, is called Organizaciones Revolucionarias Integradas (ORI) (Integrated Revolutionary Organizations) and that is being replaced by the Partido Unido de la Revolución Socialista (PURS) (United Party of the Socialist Revolution), a monolithic party based on the



Soviet model and which henceforth will control all the bodies of the Cuban state. In this respect, in the previously cited speech by Prime Minister Castro, in explaining the functions of the new Partido Unido de la Revolución Socialista, he said that they would be:

that of organizing and that of leading, through the organizations of masses, through their nuclei, and at the same time organizing the people, in accordance with the Marxist-Leninist standard of responsibility and collective leadership.

The board of officers of the ORI is composed principally of leaders of the Partido Socialista Popular (Popular Socialist Party, i.e., Communist) and of the 26th of July Movement and includes the most outstanding officials of the Cuban Government, such as Prime Minister Castro, President Dorticós, and Minister Guevara. At the recent XXII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union the ORI participated with the same governmental character as the other communist parties of the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc.

As a consequence of this identification of the Government of Cuba with Marxism-Leninism and its rebuilding into a one-party system of government of the kind described, its ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc of countries have been made stronger on all levels. On the political level, one notes the statements made by high Cuban leaders jointly with the Chiefs of State and other leaders of those countries. For example, in the Cuban-Soviet communiqué issued by Mr. Anastas Mikoyan, First Vice Minister of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and Major Ernesto Guevara, on December 19, 1960, it is established that:

During the talks, the two parties discussed problems relating to the present international situation, and they reaffirmed their agreement in attitude toward the principal problems of mankind today.

According to the joint communiqué issued in Peking by the President of the People's Republic of China and President Dorticós, on October 2, 1961,

During the talks the two parties exchanged opinions on the current international situation and the question of further developing friendship and cooperation between China and Cuba. They reached complete agreement.

On September 20 of that same year, President Dorticós himself had signed in Moscow another joint communiqué, with the President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, which states the "identity of the positions of the Soviet Union and of the Republic of Cuba on all the international questions that were discussed."

This "identity of positions" has become evident on various occasions, and especially during the last session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. Even in the voting in regard to the resumption of nuclear explosions on the part of the Soviet Union, the Delegation of Cuba was the only other one that voted in the same way as the nine countries that had thereto made up the Soviet bloc of nations. The Cuban delegation also fully identified itself with the Soviet position with respect to other questions that were discussed in the course of that session, such as that regarding the reorganization of the United Nations Secretariat. In the Organization of American States itself, in concordance with the attitude taken by the Delegation of Cuba in the United Nations, the representative of that country was the only one who did not vote in favor of the resolution offered by the Delegation of Uruguay, in which the Council of the Organization decided:

To declare its firm determination to pay due attention to the resolutions of the United Nations and its profound preoccupation over the fact that the Government of the Soviet Union has decided to ignore the solemn call made upon it by the General Assembly of the United Nations.

As to the ties of a military nature, one of the most notable facts is the acceptance by the Cuban Government of the offer of military aid made by the Soviet Union. This offer appears in the following statement by Soviet Prime Minister Khrushchev on July 9, 1960:

Speaking figuratively, in the event it were necessary, the Soviet artillerymen could aid the Cuban people with the fire of their rockets, if the aggressive forces of the Pentagon dare to initiate an intervention against Cuba.

As the latest tests of Soviet rockets have shown, these can strike within a target area from a distance of 13,000 kilometers.

Motivated by that offer and the Meeting of Consultation subsequently held, the "Declaration of Havana," after condemning "in all its terms the so-called 'Declaration of San José, Costa Rica,'" a document dictated by United States imperialism and hostile to the national self-determination, sovereignty, and dignity of the brother peoples of the hemisphere," contained the following statement:

Therefore, the General Assembly of the People declares before America and the world that it accepts and is grateful for the aid of the rockets of the Soviet Union if its territory should be invaded by military forces of the United States.

With respect to the scope of the previously cited statement of the Soviet Prime Minister, it is important to quote the pertinent part of the interview that he granted to Mr. Carlos Franqui, editor of the newspaper Revolución:

QUESTION (Franqui): The imperialists say that the declaration of the Soviet Government on the possible use of rockets in the event of an armed aggression against Cuba has a purely symbolic significance. What do you think about this?

ANSWER (Khrushchev): I would wish that this statement, to which the enemies of the Cuban Revolution refer, were really symbolic. For that to be so, it is necessary that the threat of the imperialists with regard to intervention against Cuba not be converted into military actions, and then there will be no need for confirming the reality of our statement as to armed aid to the Cuban people against aggression.

QUESTION (Franqui): I want you to understand me very well, it would be better that the threat did not exist. But if it is going to exist, if from the threat it will go on to facts, are the rockets sufficiently prepared?

ANSWER (Khrushchev): Unquestionably...

Subsequently, in the joint communiqué issued on December 19, 1960, by Vice Prime Minister Mikoyan and Major Guevara, it was stated that:

The third and most important aspect of the aid was the statement made by the Prime Minister of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, as to the willingness of the Soviet Union to give Cuba complete aid to maintain its independence against unprovoked aggressions.

The preceding facts, together with many others that for the sake of brevity we have omitted in this report, clearly reveal the extent to which the present Government of Cuba has tied itself to the Sino-Soviet bloc, as well as the extent to which, at the same time, that government has separated itself from the inter-American system and repudiated obligations and commitments stipulated in the treaties in force and in other instruments on which the system is based.

In this respect it is appropriate to recall that in his speech of March 28, 1960, Prime Minister Fidel Castro has already declared that:

Then they threaten us with throwing the Latin American republics on us with that pact, of Rio de Janeiro, by which we do not feel obligated because that pact was not signed by the Revolution. That is to say, it would be well that they know that we do not feel, we say it definitively, in view of the things here as we are arranging them that we do not feel obligated by that pact of Rio de Janeiro.

Likewise, the most outstanding leaders of the Cuban Government have devoted themselves to the task of systematically discrediting the Organization of American States, and have even frequently employed insulting expressions, such as calling it the "Ministry of Colonies of the Department of State of the United States."

Finally, as to the connection of the Government of Cuba with the Sino-Soviet bloc and its separation from the inter-American system, it is very important to point out the action taken by the Inter-American Defense Board. The Council of Delegates of the Board, at its meeting on December 15, 1960, approved a resolution, entitled "A Problem of Security in Connection with the Planning of the Defense of the American Continent," by which the said Council agreed to call to the attention of the governments of the member states, for their study and the possible adoption of appropriate measures, the following points:

1. Repeated official concepts and attitudes by representative authorities of the Government of Cuba, particularly the rejection of the Declaration of San José, Costa Rica -condemnatory of the acceptance of the threat of extracontinental intervention - lead to the deduction that the present government of that country is moving rapidly away from the Inter-American system;
2. This situation is prejudicial to the normal development of the work of the Inter-American Defense Board, especially to the study of matters and the preparation of Documents concerning the security of the Continent, in the light of the increasing influence and threat of the Communist-Soviet Bloc.

Later, at its meeting held on April 26, 1961, the Council of Delegates approved the following resolution:

WHEREAS:

1. Subparagraph (c) of Article 33. of the Regulations of the Inter-American Defense Board (IADB Document C-388) in defining secret sessions of the Council of Delegates, establishes that matters of a secret nature which are discussed "must be known only by the members of the Board who, on the initiative of the Chairman and in the opinion of the Council, must know such information, and by the military and civilian personnel rigorously qualified and assigned for that purpose;"
2. The recent actions and declarations of the Revolutionary Government of Cuba prove that the participation of the Delegate of Cuba in the planning for the defense is highly prejudicial to the work of the Board and the security of the Western Hemisphere;

Therefore, the Council of Delegates

RESOLVES:

To deny the Cuban Delegate access to classified sessions and classified documents of the Inter-American Defense Board, as a temporary measure, while the present and evident military alliance exists between Cuba and the Soviet bloc.

The ties of the Government of Cuba with the Sino-Soviet bloc must be evaluated through the group of facts that have been examined. Such acts, taken separately, could be considered as acts of sovereignty of a state in establishing diplomatic relations, determining its system of government, making economic and cultural agreements, supplying itself with arms, and so on. But these facts, considered as a group and linked one to the others, are those that define the position of a country in the game of international politics. In the case of the Government of Cuba, the Committee has found that the organization of that government and the political philosophy that gives form to it, its activity in the international agencies and its diplomatic, political, economic, and military relations with the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc have led it inevitably not only to move gradually away from the inter-American system but also to identify itself practically with the international policy that the countries of that bloc systematically follow.

## 2. Subversive activities of the Government of Cuba

Among the facts denounced by the Government of Peru, the one that presents the greatest difficulties for investigation is that relating to the activities of the Government of Cuba for the purpose of instigating subversion and revolution against the legitimately constituted governments and the democratic institutions of America. Subversive activities, by their nature, are not always carried out in the public light. The Inter-American Peace Committee, for its part, does not have all the elements necessary for carrying out an exhaustive investigation in this field. Consequently, it has had to restrict itself to notoriously public facts and the reports that the governments of America have provided to it. In this connection the Committee addressed itself to the representatives of the member states of the Organization of American States in a note that is referred to on page 20 of this report. Likewise, subcommittees made up of members of the Committee visited numerous countries for the purpose of gathering directly the information that the governments were so kind as to provide, whether in writing or orally.

On the basis of the evidence that it has gathered, the Committee can report the following:

a. There exists a constant and systematic activity of radio propaganda through the government transmitters of Cuba, aimed at defaming the governments of the other countries of the hemisphere, discrediting representative democratic institutions, insulting the executives of the other republics of the

Hemisphere, fomenting public disorders, and even inciting violent subversion of legally constituted regimes. The government press and that of the single party of the Cuban Government also constantly carry on work along the same line.

b. Many governments accuse the Government of Cuba of maintaining constant propaganda, by means of pamphlets, newspapers, and other publications, that goes beyond the recognized practice of informing about the political, economic, and cultural development of a country, propaganda that has the purpose of stimulating methods and practices of a subversive character, in violation of the legal standards of the representative democratic system. In this connection it is appropriate to note that in many countries the authorities have seized a considerable amount of propaganda that the respective governments have called subversive.

c. Various governments have reported to this Committee that the repeated and numerous trips to Cuba of citizens belonging to communist or extreme leftist political groups have been for the purpose of instructing the said citizens in typical methods of subversive activity.

d. In some countries the intervention and direct participation of Cuban diplomatic agents in their internal affairs has been revealed, which has in many cases caused the declaration that those agents were personae non gratae or their withdrawal by the Government of Cuba, at the request, on some occasions, of the government to which they were accredited, or as a result, in other cases, of the pressure of public opinion. On several occasions those situations have motivated the breaking of diplomatic relations. By way of example, the following cases may be cited:

In December 1959 President Rómulo Bontancourt requested of the Cuban Government the immediate withdrawal of Ambassador Francisco Pividal for intervening in the internal affairs of the country.

In April 1960 the Government of Guatemala declared the Ambassador of Cuba, Antonio Rodríguez Echezabal, persona non grata for having intervened in the internal affairs of the country.

In June 1960 the Government of Nicaragua requested the withdrawal of the Cuban Ambassador Quintín Pino Machado and all the personnel of the Cuban Embassy in Managua for having participated in subversive and terroristic activities in Nicaragua.

In December 1960 the Government of Peru broke relations with the Government of Cuba because of the active participation of that country's embassy in Lima in the work of communist infiltration into agencies of the state, labor unions, student and farmers' groups, and political parties of Peru.

At the end of 1960 Messrs. Armando Velásquez Fernández and José M. Valdés, officials of the Cuban Embassy in El Salvador, were expelled by the Government of El Salvador for having participated in the internal politics of the country and having acted as intermediaries and propaganda agents of doctrines and ideologies contrary to the democratic system.

In January 1961 the Ambassador of Cuba in Bolivia, Mr. Jose Tavares del Real, was withdrawn as a result of the criticisms made by the local press of his participation in internal political activities.

In January 1961 the Government of Panama requested the withdrawal, first, of Ambassador José Antonio Cabrera Vilá, and later of Counselor Adolfo Martí Fuente, Consul Gilberto Conill Iglesias, and Secretary Rafael Fernández, for intervening in subversive activities in the country.

In January 1961 the Government of Uruguay declared the Ambassador of Cuba, Mario García Inchaústegui, persona non grata and granted him a period of forty-eight hours within which to abandon the territory, for having carried on activities that implied intervention in the internal affairs of Uruguay.

In March 1961 the Government of Honduras ordered the closing of the Consulate of Cuba in Puerto Corté, because its personnel was carrying on activities of a subversive character.

The cases enumerated, as well as others about which the Committee has not been able to gather complete information, or in which Cuban diplomatic officials left the countries to which they were accredited because of public accusations of intervention, reveal a situation that has caused many governments to consider the diplomatic missions of Cuba as centers of agitation and subversive propaganda. These activities have been carried out with similar techniques and for the same purposes in man-



countries of the Hemisphere, although they have been carried on more intensely in some than in others. Also to be noted are the close relations that exist between the Cuban diplomatic offices and the local communist parties and individuals, and which various governments have reported to the Committee.

In its report to the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, held in August 1960, this Committee made the observation that there was a growing interest on the part of the Soviet Union and other extracontinental powers in intervening more actively in inter-American affairs and that they were attempting to exploit for their own purposes some aspects of the situation existing in the Caribbean. The nature of the Government of Cuba and its ideological and political ties with the Sino-Soviet bloc make it possible to presume that there is a direct relation between the purposes noted in that report and the activities that have just been enumerated.

### 3. Violations of human rights by the Government of Cuba

In studying this aspect of the denunciation made by the Government of Peru, the Committee has taken into account the "Special Report on the Relationship between the Violations of Human Rights or the Non-exercise of Representative Democracy and the Political Tensions that Affect the Peace of the Hemisphere" which the Committee submitted to the Council of the Organization of American States on April 19, 1960, and which it then included as an appendix to the report that in due course it presented to the Seventh Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs. In that report the Committee pointed out that during the last few years there had been considerable progress in the development of respect for human rights and for the effective exercise of representative democracy in many countries of the Caribbean region and it mentioned, among the factors to which that evolution should be attributed, the following:

The conviction increasingly held in all the American republics that the respect for human rights and the observance of the fundamental principles of representative democracy play an important part in their mutual relations. This fact has been given solemn recognition in the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man, in the Charter of the Organization, particularly in Articles 5.d and 5.j, and in numerous declarations of inter-American conferences,

notably those of the Ninth and Tenth Inter-American Conferences and the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs.

2. Thus, at this stage of history, no American regime can seclude itself in isolation from the other States of the Hemisphere and indulge in antidemocratic practices within its territory, since in so doing it incurs the moral disapproval of the other countries of the Americas. Furthermore the spotlight of publicity, so characteristic of our time, is unfailingly cast upon every detail of the actions of governments that violate the principles established by the public opinion of the Americas in the aforementioned documents.

3. The progress that has been realized in furtherance of respect for human rights and the effective exercise of representative democracy may also be attributed in large measure to the popular movement throughout the American republics designed to achieve economic progress in an atmosphere of freedom and social justice. All the peoples of the Americas are intent upon achieving a more rewarding life in both material and spiritual terms, and they recognize the truth of the statement set forth in Resolution XXXII of Bogotá, that "only under a system founded upon a guarantee of the essential freedoms and rights of the individual is it possible to attain this goal."

In the same report, the Committee added that:

The peoples of this continent know that absolute power, whatever form it may take or under whatever pretext it is seized, soon ends in moral and political as well as material corruption.

and that:

Therefore, they increasingly perceive the truth of the statement that the high aims which are sought through the solidarity of the American States require, as proclaimed in Article 5.d of the Charter, their political organization on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy which, in turn, must rest upon a guarantee of the rights of man.

The Committee believes that those sentiments continue unalterable in the conscience of the American peoples and that therefore it is regrettable that that evolutionary process favorable to respect for human rights should have suffered a sharp reversal in the confirmation of the serious violations of human rights that the Government of Cuba is systematically carrying out.

The amount of information and trustworthy data that the Committee has received regarding those violations has led it to the conclusion that the nonrecognition on the part of the Government of Cuba of the basic rights of the human individual has reached such a degree of seriousness that it cannot but be of concern to the American governments, inasmuch as at the same time it constitutes one of the causes of the tensions that are now affecting the peace of the Hemisphere. In this respect it is appropriate to note that the Government of Costa Rica broke relations with the Cuban Government precisely because the latter had continued the executions of Cuban nationals by firing squads.

Among the violations of human rights that the Government of Cuba most notoriously carried out, the Committee deems it sufficient to mention the following:

a. The imposition of the death penalty on many persons accused of so-called "counterrevolutionary" crimes, in judgments made without the constitutional and generally recognized procedural guarantees, and by tribunals made up, not of independent officials, but of military personnel and militia personnel. With respect to the methods employed by those tribunals, the International Commission of Jurists, with headquarters in Geneva, Switzerland, stated in October 1959, referring to "Juridical Life in Cuba since the Revolution," that "world juridical opinion did not consider the employment of such methods appropriate, because, however great may be the indignation caused by the preceding cruelties, it is not possible to justify such a lack of consideration for the basic human rights of the accused." The Inter-American Peace Committee has received reports that the number of persons executed so far by the Government of Cuba amounts to several hundred. It is also appropriate to mention the fact that thousands of persons have for a long time been detained for political reasons and under such conditions that the International Red Cross has tried to exercise its humanitarian action, without the Cuban Government permitting this.

b. Also well known are the numerous restrictions and difficulties that Cuban citizens have in leaving the country and even in moving their residence within its territory. Thousands of them have had to abandon the country clandestinely, and according to reports received by the Committee, there have been numerous cases of persons who have been put to death when they attempted to do so.

c. All the media for the diffusion of thought are at present in the power of the Government of Cuba or of the single party. It is an evident fact that in that country freedom of the press, radio, and television, and in general freedom of information and expression, do not exist. The manner in which the Cuban Government took over the power of those media is also widely known.

d. With regard to the right of suffrage and the holding of elections in the Republic of Cuba, it is appropriate to point out the following:

On January 9, 1959, the Prime Minister, Dr. Fidel Castro, declared:

We shall have general elections within a period of approximately eighteen months. The political parties will be organized within eight or ten months.

In August 1959 the Cuban Government signed the Declaration of Santiago, Chile, in which it is established that:

2. The governments of the American republics should be the result of free elections.
3. Perpetuation in power, or the exercise of power without a fixed term and with the manifest intent of perpetuation, is incompatible with the effective exercise of democracy.

In his speech of May 1, 1960, the Prime Minister said:

Our enemies, our detractors, ask for elections.... Some Latin American executive has recently even declared that only those governments that are the result of an electoral process should be admitted in the Organization of American States.... As if the only democratic procedure for arriving at power were the electoral process.

This statement and other later ones in which the electoral procedures of representative democracy were repudiated preceded the later identification of the Government of Cuba with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and the rebuilding of the political organization of the Cuban state in accordance with that ideology.

e. With respect to the free profession of religious beliefs and, particularly, the practice of the same, the Commission has received testimony worthy of full credence that reveals the numerous obstacles and restrictions that have been adopted in various forms to impede the propagation of those beliefs. In this respect it is appropriate to mention, among other facts, the interruption of religious services by members of the militia, the occupation of elementary schools and secondary schools directed by religious personnel, the expulsion of many Catholic priests, and the violent expulsion from the country of the Auxiliary Bishop of Havana and Rector of the Catholic University of Santo Tomás de Villanueva, Monsignor Eduardo Boza Masvidal, as well as the necessity encountered by Cardinal Manuel Arteaga y Bentancourt for seeking diplomatic asylum.

f. The situation in which numerous asylees in various embassies for a long time have been denied the corresponding safeconducts, despite the obligations that the Government of Cuba has contracted in accordance with the conventions with respect to asylum, is notorious. The incidents that occurred some time ago at the embassies of two American countries in Havana, which resulted in deaths and injuries, reveal the seriousness of the situation that now prevails in this respect in Cuba.

### III. FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

The facts denounced by the Government of Peru have been studied by the Committee in the light of the principles and standards that govern the inter-American system, and, in this respect, it considers it advisable to formulate the following considerations:

1. The identification of the Government of Cuba with the Marxist-Leninist ideology and socialism of the Soviet type, together with the rebuilding of the Cuban political organization on the basis of the one-party system of government that is in accordance with that ideology, presuppose positions that are basically antagonistic to the principle established in the Charter of the Organization of American States that

The solidarity of the American States and the high aims which are sought through it require the political organization of those States on the basis of the effective exercise of representative democracy. (Article 5 d)

With regard to this point, it is well to recall, also, the Declaration of Santiago, Chile (1959), which the present Government of Cuba signed jointly with the other American governments, in which there are enounced certain "principles and attributes of the democratic system in this hemisphere." In addition to the fact that other declarations of Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs have condemned the communist ideology and system, in the Declaration of San José, Costa Rica, the Seventh Meeting reaffirmed

...that the inter-American system is incompatible with any form of totalitarianism and that democracy will achieve the full scope of its objectives in the hemisphere only when all the American republics conduct themselves in accordance with the principles stated in the Declaration of Santiago, Chile, approved at the Fifth Meeting of Consultation of Ministers of Foreign Affairs, the observance of which it recommends as soon as possible.

Along this line of thinking, the Committee feels that the present Government of Cuba, given the political ideology with which it has identified itself and the form in which it has organized itself, impedes the exercise of the right of self-determination, as it is conceived in the inter-American system, that is, as the right of each and all of the citizens to contribute with

his vote, given in free elections, to the formation of the government that they may prefer to give themselves. In this sense, the Fifth Meeting of Consultation declared that "The governments of the American republics should be the results of free elections" and that "Perpetuation in power, or the exercise of power without a fixed term and with the manifest intent of perpetuation, is incompatible with the effective exercise of democracy."

2. The serious and systematic violation of human rights by the Government of Cuba not only constitutes one of the principal causes of the international tensions that now are affecting the peace of the Hemisphere but is in open contradiction to various instruments of the inter-American system, and particularly to the Charter of the Organization, Article 13 of which establishes that in the free development of its cultural, political, and economic life, "The State shall respect the rights of the individual..."

3. The present connections of the Government of Cuba with the Sino-Soviet bloc of countries are evidently incompatible with the principles and standards that govern the regional system, and particularly with the collective security established by the Charter of the OAS and the Inter-American Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance. The acceptance of the military aid offered by the Soviet Union was what motivated the Seventh Meeting of Consultation to declare that

... the acceptance of a threat of extracontinental intervention by any American state endangers American solidarity and security, and that this obliges the Organization of American States to disapprove it and reject it with equal vigor.

The same Declaration of San José

Proclaims that all member states of the regional organization are under obligation to submit to the discipline of the inter-American system, voluntarily and freely agreed upon, and that the soundest guarantee of their sovereignty and their political independence stems from compliance with the provisions of the Charter of the Organization of American States.

It is evident that the ties of the Cuban Government with the Sino-Soviet bloc will prevent the said government from fulfilling the obligations stipulated in the Charter of the Organization and the Treaty of Reciprocal Assistance.

3. As regards the intense subversive activity in which the countries of the Sino-Soviet bloc are engaged in America and the activities of the Cuban Government that are pointed out in this report, it is evident that they would constitute acts that, within the system for the "Political defense" of the Hemisphere, have been classed as acts of "political aggression" or "aggression of a nonmilitary character." Such acts represent attacks upon inter-American peace and security as well as on the sovereignty and political independence of the American states, and therefore a serious violation of fundamental principles of the inter-American system, as has been repeatedly and explicitly declared at previous Inter-American Conferences and Meetings of Consultation. By way of example, it is appropriate to recall that the Bogota Conference in its Resolution XXXII, "The Preservation and Defense of Democracy in America," condemned "In the name of international law, interference by any foreign power, or by any political organization serving the interests of a foreign power, in the public life of the nations of the American continent."

January 14, 1962

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